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of Pericles has brought him, while discussing this period, just a little in conflict with the sound Hellenic maxim, *μηδὲν ἄγαν*; but only a Philistine would seriously censure that in a work designed as a stimulus to loftier culture. Again, the author's temporary habit of the superlative at this point may account for his description of the Greek democracy as unsurpassed in political and legal conservatism till the advent of the great American democracy (page 170), though shortly afterwards he asserts that "the conservative instinct . . . was far stronger in the Roman than in the Greek" (page 211).

But no higher tribute is necessary to the book than the statement that the flaws just suggested are the most serious it presents. Taken as a whole, it is a most satisfactory summary of the philosophy of the ancient state.

WM. A. DUNNING.

Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik in Deutschland.

Berichte über die Entwicklung und den gegenwärtigen Zustand des Auswanderungswesens in den Einzelstaaten und im Reiche. Im Auftrage des Vereins für Socialpolitik, herausgegeben von Dr. E. VON PHILIPPOVICH, Professor an der Universität Freiburg i. B. Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1892.—xxxiii, 479 pp.

The heartiest praise must be accorded to Professor Philippovich and his collaborators for the excellent and thorough way in which they have fulfilled the task assigned to them by the *Verein für Socialpolitik*, and given us an authoritative history of emigration from the different states of Germany, with a description of the legislation in each regarding that important subject. Emigration, on its present scale and under present conditions, is essentially a modern phenomenon; nevertheless, the question of the attitude of the state to it, and its relation to the interests of the community, are general questions of political science upon which it is extremely useful to have the light of history. These essays furnish us, as it were, with the necessary perspective to complete a picture which hitherto has been all foreground. We see not only the gradual growth of the movement itself but also the evolution of a public opinion in regard to it.

In all these states we find the history beginning with the mediæval prohibition of emigration. The man belonged to the community and could not throw off the bonds of allegiance without the consent of

the sovereign. This provision was also, to some extent, in the interest of the subject himself ; for he was not allowed to emigrate even to a neighboring German state without having first secured the right of settlement in the new state. The *heimathslose* man was regarded with horror. The influence of revolutionary ideas was to loosen this control to a great degree, and formal permission to emigrate was obtainable on condition that the emigrant had paid his taxes and debts, provided for those who might be dependent upon him and fulfilled his military duties. Improved means of communication made these provisions unenforceable except by the harsh confiscation of property left behind. At the same time the more liberal and social-regarding modes of thought began to consider the advantages to the hundreds of thousands of poor people who were seeking and finding in the New World material comfort for themselves and prospects for their children which they could never have found at home. Had a civilized, liberal government the right to interfere with such a movement? Since the "thirties" and "forties," the German governments have generally kept their hands off the emigration movement. In some cases they have even assisted the emigration of paupers, in order to be relieved of the burden of their support (*cf.* pages 138 and 224). The Malthusian fear of over-population has also had some influence, as well as patriotic dreams of founding a new *Deutschland* across the sea—which latter have shattered on the lack of unity in Germany herself and the dissolving influences of American life.

In recent years the interest in the question of emigration has revived in Germany, and this book is representative of the demand that the German Empire shall adopt a settled line of policy in regard to it. By the German constitution of 1871 the right to regulate emigration is given to the empire ; but nothing has as yet been done. It is necessary that there should be a uniform law upon the subject, which has hitherto been left to the individual states. A second demand is for more stringent regulation of the emigration agencies, by which of late years the business of alluring emigrants has been carried on with the greatest recklessness and disregard of the interests of the people themselves. Recent colonial enterprises have revived the dream of extending German influence abroad, if not by direct settlement—which, probably, will not amount to very much in the tropical lands which the German Empire has annexed—yet, by establishing closer commercial relations with the great masses of Germans, those settled in the United States, for example.

The philosophic tone of the book is admirable. As Professor Philippovich says, there is no sign of a cessation in the movement of emigration. Owing to social conditions and to the influence of the thousand bonds of connection between the emigrants and those who have stayed behind, it has become almost a normal movement of the population. The government could not stop it even if it desired to. But it can prevent abuses; it can extend its care to its people even when they are about to leave the fatherland; it can encourage every effort to establish relations of affection and mutual interest between Germany and her sons scattered throughout the world.

RICHMOND MAYO-SMITH.

Socialism and the American Spirit. By N. P. GILMAN. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1893. — 8vo, 376 pp.

Mr. Gilman's volume is a distinct and welcome addition to the growing discussion of the nice issues between individualism and collectivism. It must be granted that the "American spirit" in regard to these special questions stands for a fact of real importance. The Anglo-Saxon spirit, or even the spirit of Great Britain, would be far vaguer and more open to obvious criticism. Australia, for example, shows us phenomena of state and municipal activities which go much beyond the experience connoted by the "American spirit." This latter, Mr. Gilman says,

will hold back the state from no field which the state can cultivate better than private persons, or in companies, because of any theory of individualism. It will close no career to lawful enterprise and private talent because of any theory of socialism. It will be content to be opportunist and serve its own time, as it can live only in the present. It can be said with entire confidence that American legislatures make no laws out of an unquestioning adherence to a rigorous and vigorous theory; nothing has occurred since socialism has been more warmly discussed here that indicates any fundamental alteration in the tendency or the temper of the American people. They have legislated for their own actual condition, with no particular reference to individualism or socialism. [Page 188.]

The above may be said to characterize with much precision the past, and upon the whole, the present attitude in America toward socialism. It is the genius of the practical spirit to care little for names or phrases. This trait of political character in the United States gets no stronger emphasis from Mr. Gilman than from those like de Noailles, Boutmy, von Holst and Bryce, who have studied